

The Peoples of Sinkiang

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pastoral groups in the uplands of the province, the Kazakhs and Kirghiz. Thus the scale of racial composition suggests that invading Mongoloid peoples, largely nomadic, have merged in varying degrees with an indigenous Alpine population. 144

Although the only terminology which has any validity in the scientific classification of races in Sinkiang is along the lines men- 197 •



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tioned above, use is often made of terms like "Turkish race" or "Kirghiz race." Actually, such terms designate not racial but linguistic categories. 197

If "language" is defined in such a manner as to include mutually intelligible forms of speech, and to exclude mutually unintelligible forms, then it appears that there are ten main languages spoken in Sinkiang. These are distributed among three distinct linguistic families, the Altaic, Indo-Chinese, and Indo-European. The languages in the Altaic group are distributed among three subgroups, the Turkic, Mongolian, and Tungus. The classifica- 162

197 tion of the ten languages of Sinkiang, together with the number
 162 of speakers of each, is as follows:³

*I Altaic**A. Turkic⁴*

1. Uighur	2,941,000
2. Kazakh	319,000
3. Kirghiz	65,000
4. Uzbek	8,000
5. Tatar	5,000
	3,338,000

B. Mongolian

6. Mongolian	63,000
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C. Tungusic

7. Manchu	12,000

TOTAL 3,413,000

II Indo-Chinese

8. Chinese	294,000

TOTAL 294,000

III Indo-European

9. Iranian	9,000
10. Russian	13,000

TOTAL 22,000

144 An attempt to analyze or classify the population of Sinkiang
 114 accurately on the basis of races or nationalities is complicated by

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ There is, strictly speaking, no "Turki language" or "Turkic language"; no one speaks "Turki" any more than anyone speaks "Romance." In the nineteenth century literature, especially, the term Turki was often applied to the language spoken by the people now called Uighurs, and also to the people themselves. This usage is now out-of-date.

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raise the question of Sinkiang seceding from the Chinese Republic." In addition to disavowing any intention of secession Akhmedjan stated that:

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The problem today is to confirm national unity and to put into effect a democratic policy. We do not put the question of the rule of one nation or group of nations over another nation or group of nations. Therefore the national self-government which we desire is supreme authority in our Province under an executive power which is to be effected not only by the Uighurs or those of Turkic race, but also by the unification of all the peoples in our Province and the implementation of a democratic policy.¹⁷

The demand of even the most militant Uighurs seems so far to have gone no further than the preservation of their own entity within the Chinese state. A key issue has been the struggle for elections free of intimidation by the Chinese, who attempted to cow the people with assertions that "We have the atom bomb,"¹⁸ and that "80,000 American troops" would come to establish "order" in Sinkiang.¹⁹ Another demand has been for national courts adapted to the local needs of the population. The issue of the use of their own language also looms large in the eyes of the Uighurs. Item Three of the abortive Kulja Agreement provided that both Chinese and Uighur were to be used in all official documents, and that petitions from the people were to be in the language of the petitioner. Item Four provided that education in lower and middle schools was to be in the language of the student, that the study of Chinese was to be obligatory in middle schools, and that higher education was to be either in Chinese or in Uighur, according to the convenience of the student.

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These items suggest the emphasis which Uighur nationalists, like those of other minority groups in Sinkiang, place on their cul-

¹⁷ *Sin Can Gezeti*, February 19, 1947 (in Uighur).

¹⁸ *Loc. cit.* (in Uighur).

¹⁹ *Sin Can Gezeti*, Feb. 12 and 13, 1947 (in Uighur).

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186 tural heritage, and make plain their desire to defend it against Chinese encroachment by preserving their own language, literature, and traditions.

Religious freedom is likewise demanded by Uighurs of all political factions. The Islamic flag, depicting a crescent and star on a red background, flies over the schools in Kulja and Chuguchak. After the break between Kulja and Urumchi, the Kulja group was requested by Chang Chih-chung to clarify its intentions by flying the "national colors" over the schools and military establishments.

* 563
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669 It is apparent that the nationalist movement among the Uighurs has never gone as far as the militant revolutionary stage reached by the Viet Minh and other radical groups in the Far East. The Uighurs seek primarily a modicum of liberties such as will permit them to continue to survive as one people under a government of their own choosing. Important sections of the Uighurs have shown that they are willing to join with other peoples, even including some Chinese, in fighting for these demands.

The past history of Sinkiang, considered together with the latest uprising in the province, suggests that the demands of the various peoples are not likely to be fully satisfied without at least some measure of territorial as well as cultural autonomy. Just how this can be arranged is something that has to be worked out — jointly, if it is to be done harmoniously — by the minority border peoples and the majority Chinese in the country as a whole. Hitherto, however, the range of disagreement is such that it appears to be impossible even to obtain accord on the demarcation of the nationalities in Sinkiang!

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197 The problem is not much easier for the scholar concerned solely with describing the peoples of the province. Any classification into nationalities is impeded at the outset by the dearth of information on the national sentiments of any more than a mere handful of nationalist thinkers. Nevertheless, such concrete data as lie at hand do provide some means for objective analysis of the population. In this connection it is particularly striking

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that, with hardly an exception, language appears to be an index to an aggregate of characteristics which set off one people from another. For the most part the speakers of the ten languages noted earlier — the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, Iranians, Chinese, Russians, Manchus, Uzbeks, and Tatars — are homogeneous within themselves.

Thus the Uighurs — that is, the people who speak one of the many mutually intelligible dialects of the Uighur language — are all Moslems, all share the same literary and artistic heritage, live chiefly by agriculture, have a common history, form 95 per cent of the population in the Tarim Basin (where 90 per cent of them are concentrated), and in other respects display a high degree of uniformity. At the other extreme are the Chinese of Sinkiang, one third of whom are Moslem while two thirds live within that vague association of Confucian, Buddhist, and Taoist ethical maxims and ceremonial observances which satisfies the need for religion in the lives of most Chinese. They do not form the majority of the population in any area, and are sharply divided by conflicting group loyalties. Whether these factors outweigh the bonds which tend to unite Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese into a common nationality is a subject of some dispute.²⁰ There is less ambiguity about the rest of the population. Assuming, as seems most likely, that in the case of Moslem and non-Moslem Chinese the unifying force of common language is greater than the divisive force of different religions, then there seems little question that with language as an index of other common characteristics the population as a whole is to be demarcated into ten nationalities.

Of the ten language-grouped nationalities in Sinkiang, the Uighurs comprise 80 per cent of the population of the whole

²⁰ In times of political crisis, Moslem Chinese in Sinkiang are invariably caught on one or the other horn of a dilemma. If they stand with their fellow Moslems, sooner or later an attempt is made to reduce them to a secondary position and to treat them as "untrustworthy" because, in spite of their Moslem religion, they are after all Chinese. If they stand with their fellow Chinese, there is a similar tendency to suspect them of subversion and disloyalty, because, it is feared, their religion may prove politically more compelling than their patriotism.

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* 563 197 province. The next largest group, the Kazakhs, are the preponderant nationality in northwestern Sinkiang, in the area bordering the Kazakh S.S.R. of the Soviet Union, and are also found along the Mongolian frontier. Kirghiz comprise the highest proportion of the population of the upland areas bordering on the Kirghiz S.S.R., and are also found in the Pamirs. The Mongols are the major nationality in northeastern Sinkiang, in the area bordering the Mongolian People's Republic, and are also found in the Tien Shan, in the heart of the province. The Iranians, who are sometimes called Tajiks or Sarikolis, though small in number relative to the other peoples of Sinkiang, form the major section of the population of the Tashkurgan Valley, adjacent to the Tajik S.S.R.

Thus Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, and Iranians are each distinguished by the fact, clearly revealed in the accompanying sketch map, that they form the local majority in some clearly defined part of the province, in addition to being in a minority in other parts of the province. In contrast, none of the remaining peoples is the major nationality in any area of significant extent. At best they exist as isolated local majorities in villages or towns, as in the case of the Chinese, who form two thirds of the population of the capital city of Urumchi. Since the Chinese, Russians, Manchus, Uzbeks, and Tatars are all people lacking a territorial base, the only viable nationalities in Sinkiang in terms of national consciousness combined with a territorial base for existence as a nationality are the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Mongols, and Iranians.

Nationalities and Their Characteristics

1. THE UIGHURS, THE MAJORITY PEOPLE OF SINKIANG

* 563 101 175 The use of the name Uighur has been revived in Sinkiang only in recent years. Historically it first appears in the records of the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.) as the name of a tribal confederation of pastoral nomads living along the Selenga River, in what is now the northern part of the Mongolian People's Republic.

* 563 who for several centuries had referred to themselves only as
186 Kashgarliks, Turfanliks, and so on — that is, as inhabitants of a particular oasis.

* 563 Since the most important oases are in the Tarim Basin, the
361 major concentration of the Uighurs is south of the Tien Shan.
168 North of the mountains they are few in number and dispersed among other peoples. One reason for the greater mixture of peoples in the north is that the Jungarian Basin has historically served as a migration route. Its present population consists of relatively new immigrants. In the course of the Manchu conquests in Central Asia in the second half of the eighteenth century 30 per cent of the population of Jungaria was exterminated, 40 per cent died of epidemics and other causes, and 20 per cent fled away. In repopulating the region the imperial policy was to mix Uighurs, Chinese, Mongols, and other groups.

The Uighurs who were brought into the Ili region at that time became known as *Taranchi* or "cultivators." In his list of fourteen peoples Sheng Shih-ts'ai separated the Taranchis from other Uighurs; but there is no reason for such separation except to prevent political unity.

* 563 In language the Uighurs are uniform except for minor differences of dialect. Uighur is written with the Arabic script, which
• 197 is no more suited to it than it is to other Turkic languages. So
212 far there has not arisen any significant movement, comparable to that in Turkey under Kemal Atatürk or to that developed in the Soviet Union in the '20's and '30's, for the adoption of a script based on either the Latin or the Cyrillic alphabet. Suggestions have however been made, against the opposition of those wedded to the script in its present form, for the adoption of minor changes. One proposal calls for removing the single most important drawback to the Arabic script by adapting it to the writing of all vowels. Another suggestion is to write as one speaks, but this has encountered difficulty because agreement has not yet been reached on what dialect of the language is to be chosen as the standard.

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The linguistic uniformity of the Uighurs is only one aspect of

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acquire the determining political power within clans and tribes and secure the best allocations of pasture. Disputes over winter quarters are the most common cause of quarrels between clans and tribes, and similarly the fact that good winter quarters are often on land suitable for cultivation is the commonest cause of friction between Kazakh or Mongol nomads and colonizing Uighur or Chinese farmers.

The economic development of the Sinkiang and Russian Kazakhs has not been uniform since the Soviet Revolution. The pastoral economy of the Sinkiang Kazakhs has not improved, but conditions have become worse where the Chinese authorities have permitted colonization of some of their territory by Uighurs or Chinese. On the Soviet side of the frontier, the traditional nomadic economy has been strongly modified. "Clan collectivism" has given way to socialist collectivism. Winter quarters and summer pastures are owned by collectives which are not necessarily formed out of kinship clans; the breeds of livestock have been improved; and agriculture has been developed in combination with the pastoral economy. In addition industrialization has been introduced on a very large scale, including coal and copper mining. In coal mining, particularly, a fairly large Kazakh labor force is engaged; and out of industry and the improvements in farming and herding have developed opportunities for higher education and technical training.

The Kazakh language belongs to the Turkic group of the Altaic family, and is closely related to other Turkic languages in Inner Asia, and to Osman Turkish. The language of Sinkiang and Soviet Kazakhs is identical. There was almost complete illiteracy among both groups until the Soviet Revolution. The small number of literates, mainly within the upper classes and the clergy, used the Arabic alphabet, which is unsuited to the phonology of the Turkic languages. After the Bolshevik Revolution a Latin alphabet was introduced, with the addition of a few special letters; this script was replaced in 1940 by the Cyrillic alphabet, again with the addition of a few special letters. The attack on illiteracy went slowly in the first years under the Soviet system. In 1931, 77 per

Kazak
Kirghiz

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- *563 cent of the Kazakhs were still illiterate. Rapid change in this re-
 ● 197 spect accompanied the process of collectivization, and by 1939,
 21276.3 per cent were literate.

*563 The majority of the Kazakhs were not converted to Moham-
 771 medanism until the seventeenth century. Even then they re-
 562 mained lax in observing many of the rules of Islam. They neither
 veil nor seclude their women, because the conditions of nomadic
 life require active kinds of work which would be hampered by
 the veil. Men and women mingle in many kinds of work around
 the camp. They are also lax about the details of the Moslem
 dietary laws, except for the prohibition against pork; they do not
 adhere strictly to the hours of prayer or the seasons of fasting, and
 frequently neglect to circumcise their sons.

*563 *Kirghiz.* There has been considerable confusion in the use of
 101 the term Kirghiz. The Russians, to avoid confusion with the Rus-
 sian Cossacks, formerly called both the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs
 "Kirghiz," adding the term *Kara* (black) to the real Kirghiz, and
 calling the Kazakhs "Kirghiz *Kaisak*." These distinctions were
 made, however, only when absolutely necessary. In everyday use,
 both people were called "Kirghiz." It was only with the establish-
 ment of national autonomy for both peoples under Soviet rule
 that a clear distinction was made between the Kirghiz and the
 Kazakhs.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are divided today by the frontier
 between China and the U.S.S.R. Up to the time of the Soviet
 Revolution the historical development of the Kirghiz on both
 sides of the frontier was essentially the same. It was only with the
 establishment of the Kirghiz Soviet Republic, which encompasses
 the vast majority of the Kirghiz, that the development of the
 Kirghiz people on either side of the frontier began to take on
 radically different forms. While the Soviet Kirghiz have been
 partly settled, organized into collectives, and enjoy a high degree
 of cultural and political autonomy, the Sinkiang Kirghiz are con-
 tinuing in the traditional ways.

000 The original home of the Kirghiz was on the upper Yenisei

Kirghiz
Mongol

- *563 Kirghiz is a Turkic language, more closely related to Chaghatay
 • 197 Turkish and Uighur than to Kazakh. The same language is spoken
 212 by the Kirghiz on the Soviet side of the frontier. Like the Kazakhs,
 the Kirghiz in Sinkiang are almost completely illiterate, and the
 only written form for the language is the Arabic alphabet; while
 in Soviet Kirghizia, illiteracy has decreased sharply with the in-
 troduction of the new Kirghiz alphabet, originally based on the
 Latin script but now using an adapted Cyrillic script.

Like the Kazakhs, the Kirghiz are nominal Mohammedans but
 with strong shamanistic holdovers. Radlov, a century ago, main-
 tained that they considered themselves to be exemplary Moslems
 and were less tolerant of non-Moslems than the Kazakhs. This
 is evidenced in their folk literature in which the struggle against
 nonbelievers plays an important role.

- *563 Mongols. The Mongols of Sinkiang, numbering some 63,000
 101 people, are badly split up and unevenly distributed in widely
 361 separated sections of the province. The largest concentrations are
 in the Chuguchak and Ili administrative regions, in each of which
 they number almost 25,000. Another group totaling about 13,000
 is found in the highlands of the Kharashahr region. There are a
 few along the northeastern section of the frontier between Sin-
 kiang and the Mongolian People's Republic, and other scattered
 fragments in the northern part of the province.

- *563 The area most clearly dominated by the Mongols is along the
 131 western end of the frontier with the Mongolian People's Repub-
 361 lic. Yet the Mongols in this region constitute only a small fraction
 of the total number in the province, while the areas in which they
 are most heavily concentrated, such as Chuguchak and Ili, are
 in turn dominated by Kazakhs.

- *563 The geographic fragmentation of the Mongols is explained
 361 largely by their historical vicissitudes. They are divided into three
 174 major tribal groups: (1) the Western Mongols, who include the
 Ölöts, the Torguts, and the Khoshots; (2) the Chahar Mongols,
 and (3) the Urianghai Mongols; but the political units do not
 *563 correspond with these tribal divisions. The Mongols are adminis-
 631 tratively organized into three leagues and two special groups.

*563 The Sarikol Valley lies

131 close to the point where the Chinese,

Soviet and Afghan frontiers meet, but the frontiers are not well defined, have been disputed in the past, and may be disputed

[466] again. The Sarikolis are resentful of Chinese rule, especially because of the burdens imposed on them for supplying men and animals, without pay or for insufficient pay, to keep open a high mountain route between Sinkiang and India which is used by official travelers and to a smaller extent by traders. This discontent might take the form of an attempt to break away from Chinese rule, but if so it is not clear what other people they would prefer to join.

*563 There are two Iranian languages spoken in adjoining districts.

197 One is the Pamir group of dialects, spoken in the Wakhan Valley of Afghanistan and in the Mountain Badakshan Autonomous Region enclosed within the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. The other is Tajik. Thus the question whether the Sarikolis speak Tajik or Pamir Iranian is important, but there is as yet no authoritative answer.

*563 The Sarikolis are said by Grenard to be a remnant of the early

174 inhabitants of Khotan who left documents dating from the period 200-400 A.D. in the Saka language, a now extinct Indo-Iranian tongue. Tang Dynasty Chinese records likewise describe the Sarikolis as identical in external appearance and language with

[779] the inhabitants of Khotan. At that time they were devout adherents of Buddhism, maintaining no less than ten monasteries in their little kingdom. The Chinese first conquered the region in the Tang Dynasty and established there a military post which marked the extreme point of Chinese military occupation in Central Asia.

*563 Subsequently the people were converted to Islam. They now

779 adhere to the Ismaili sect of the Moslem faith, which acknowl-
212 edges the Agha Khan in Bombay as its head. Culturally they are extremely backward, and are still without a written language.

*563 The people live for the most part as settled cultivators despite

241 the fact that the Sarikol Valley nowhere drops below 10,000 feet.

311 Irrigation is practiced, and the main crops are oats, barley, and

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assigned them by the Kulja regime, such as delivering grain and 000 clover.

Despite the fact that Sheng Shih-ts'ai split these people into 563* three distinct groups — Manchu, Solon, and Sibo — they display 197 so little difference that these divisions may be considered of minor importance. The original differences in speech appear to have been lessened by the use of Manchu as an official language in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the three forms as now spoken in Sinkiang are mutually comprehensible. The literary language of all three is Manchu. In other respects too the points of similarity are such that the three groups must be considered as essentially one people.

Despite their small numbers, the military ability, tradition of 563* service in administration, and generally forward-looking attitude 181 of the Manchus make them a force to be reckoned with in the province. They appear to have adopted a position in support of the Kulja program against the former Chinese administration. To be sure, their long-term existence as a people is in doubt. Yet their immediate future must involve a measure of local self-government if they are not to constitute a thorn in the flesh of the surrounding majorities.

Uzbeks. The Uzbeks in Sinkiang are scattered outposts of the 563* main population group in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic. 101 All told there are only 8000 of them in the province. They reside 161 for the most part in the cities — as merchants, traders, and anti-Soviet refugees — more than three quarters of them being located in Kashgar, Kulja, and Chuguchak.

The Uzbek nation as a whole is now composed of two main 563* ethnic layers: the old Iranian groups which inhabited the south- 197 ern Inner Asian oasis region, and the Turkish tribes of the so-called "Uzbek confederation" which in the sixteenth century con- 174 quered this region. Under the influence of the culture of the Iranian agricultural oasis dwellers, the Uzbeks soon abandoned their nomadic economy and went over to a settled, agricultural

*563 economy. They absorbed many elements of the higher Iranian
 •197 culture which they had conquered, to such a degree that for a
 174 time Persian was the only language in which literature was written and in which the courts functioned; though the Turkic Uzbek language prevailed over Iranian as the language of the common people.

*563 In the nineteenth century, most of the territory of the Uzbeks
 648 was conquered by the Russians. Several Khanates remained nominally independent, but were actually in a vassal relationship to
 101 Russia. After the Soviet Revolution the Uzbeks first formed part of the Turkistan Soviet Republic, and later were reorganized in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, a constituent Union Republic of the Soviet Union. The Uzbeks comprise the majority of the population in their own Republic. They live also in scattered groups in the Tajik, Kazakh, and Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republics, and in northern Afghanistan as well as in Sinkiang.

[197] Uzbek is a Turkic language, but it has become strongly Iranicized in the cities. Actually there are two Uzbek languages: the Iranicized city Uzbek, and the more purely Turkic country Uzbek.

[779] While the Uzbeks are Sunni Mohammedans, the mystical teachings of the Sufis were of considerable importance in their religious development.

*563 *Tatars*. The Tatars in Sinkiang number less than 5000 people.
 161 More than four fifths are concentrated in the two cities of Kulja
 361 and Chuguchak. Some are descendents of Tatar traders who settled in Sinkiang in the days of the Tsar. Others derive from anti-
 101 Soviet refugees who entered the province after 1917. Despite
 871 their small numbers they exercise considerable influence, as the group with the highest average of education among the Turkish-speaking peoples.

*563 Most Tatars come from the Volga region which today comprises the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. They are
 174 the descendants of the inhabitants of the Kazan Khanate which was formed in 1438 on the territory of the former Volga Bulgarian Empire as a result of the collapse of the Golden Horde.

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In 1552 Kazan was conquered by the Moscow State, and from this time on the Tatars have been under Russian rule. In 1920 they received autonomous status and formed the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, in which they comprise the majority of the population. Considerable numbers of them live also in the Bashkir A.S.S.R. and in the Molotov, Gorki, and Saratov districts of the R.S.F.S.R., as well as in Sinkiang.

Before the revolution the main economy of the Tatars was based on agriculture, but many individual Tatars were active traders, especially as middlemen for Russian firms in Turkic speaking areas, such as Russian and Chinese Inner Asia.

Tatar is a Turkic language and belongs to the northwestern group of this language family. [197] •

The Tatars are Sunni Mohammedans. They were converted to Islam in the tenth century. After the Russian conquest of the Volga region, attempts were made by Russian colonizers to convert them to Christianity by offering economic advantages to converts, but success was negligible.

The older Tatar literature represents a comparatively small body of primarily religious literature. In the second half of the nineteenth century a secular, rational, realistic, and increasingly nationalist trend made itself felt under the influence of Russian culture. In the twentieth century, Tatar literature — like Russian literature — has been strongly preoccupied with practical political questions, and the various literary schools have been political schools rather than aesthetic movements. Today the Tatars in the Soviet Union possess a flourishing literature, strongly influenced by Western forms. The complicated Arabic script which had been such a bar to the elimination of illiteracy was abandoned in favor of a Latinized script which, in the late thirties, was in turn replaced by a Cyrillic script.

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I. Introduction

Linguistic principles, rather than racial aspects, are used as the standard for the division and description of the various ethnic groups of the Northwest. The Communists also use a linguistic division in their census. It would be impossible to deal with many of these minorities in terms of race, since most represent racial mixtures, e.g. the New-Uighurs, the Mongols, the Monguors, etc.

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The Northwest Region includes the four former provinces of

- (1) Sinkiang with a total population of 4,873,608
- (2) Kansu with a total population of 12,938,102
- (3) Chinghai with a total population of 1,676,534
- (4) Shensi with a total population of 15,881,281 (according to 1953 census).

(Although Shensi is included in the Northwest region it has not been considered in the following pages, since it has an exclusively Chinese population.)

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A. The Ethnic Groups of Sinkiang

1. The Turkic peoples

The main racial group in the former Chinese province Sinkiang is Turkic and is composed of the following tribes:

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|----------------------------------|------------------|
| 1) New Uighur (or Eastern Turks) | 3,600,000 people |
| 2) Kazakhs | 300,000 " |
| 3) Kirghiz | 70,000 " |
| 4) Taranchi | 43,000 " |
| 5) Uzbeks | 8,000 " |
| 6) Tatars | 5,000 " |

3,426,000

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[14] It should be noted that the Taranchi are listed separately in Communist sources although they are in no way different from the New Uighur. Taranchi means "inhabitant of the country" in contrast to the New Uighurs seventy per cent of whom live in towns and cities.

2. The Chinese Peoples

In terms of the population figures, the second racial group is Chinese:

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|------------|---|
| 1) Chinese | about 210,000 people |
| 2) Dungans | about 100,000 " (Chinese Moslems, whose total figure for China as a whole is 3,599,350) |

3. The Mongols

The third racial group is composed of Mongols who consist of the following tribes:

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|-------------|---------------|
| 1) Öldts | 15,000 people |
| 2) Torguts | 18,000 " |
| 3) Khoshuts | 21,000 " |
| 4) Chahar | 8,000 " |

563 summer comes, they take their cattle way up on the pastures of
361 the mountains. The winter forces them to descend and to spend
233 some months in the more protected valleys.

4. Religion

563 The Kirghiz are Moslems of the Sunna Sect. Their script is
771 Arabic and is known only by noblemen or clergy. The only Moslem
212 rule which is strictly observed is that of abstaining from eating
262 pork.

5. Changes under Chinese Communist rule

563 In order to fight illiteracy the new Chinese Communist Govern-
871 ment erected schools for the Turks of Sinkiang in almost all villages,
668 towns and cities. The Chinese claim also that the process of making
177 them sedentary has brought remarkable progress to the Kirghiz.

E. The Uzbeks

1. Physical characteristics

563 Only a few thousand Uzbeks live in Sinkiang, and they live ex-
369 clusively in the cities. Outwardly they are utterly different from
142 the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, since they represent the alpine,
141 europide and Iranian type of Turk. They show long, narrow faces,
heavy hair growth, brown, sometimes blue, eyes, no Mongolian
fold, sharp prominent noses, white skin, body height 1700 to
1840 mm. Mongoloid features rarely can be found. In most cases
Uzbek are the same physical type as the peasants of the European
Alps.

2. Economic activities

463 The Uzbeks live as merchants, inn-owners, and craftsmen in
369 Sinkiang cities. They are more educated than any other Turkish
871 tribe of Central Asia, since they have absorbed a great deal of
191 Persian culture. Many Uzbeks speak Persian as a second language,
and Chinese as a third (like the Eastern Turks), while Kirghiz and
Kazakhs know only their mother tongue.

3. Religion

771 The Uzbeks are Moslems of the Sunna sect. Kirghiz and Kazakhs
call the Uzbeks Sart, which simply means Turks who broke away
from their nomadic way of life and became merchants.

4. Origin and linguistic affiliation

101 The Uzbeks, living in Sinkiang came from Soviet Uzbekistan.
They received their name from Ozbek, a fourteenth century Khan
of the Golden Horde.

197 The Uzbek language can be considered as the direct descendant
of the Chagatai written language. Even today the difference between
written Uzbek and the Chagatai language is very small.

F. The Salars

1. Physical characteristics

131 The Salars live in Hsün-hua-t'ing on the right bank of the

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[131] Huang-ho and in the surrounding villages. They are also found on one section of the road from Hsi-ning to Ho-chou. They differ considerably from the average type of Chinese Moslems. They are tall and lank. They have large and not flat noses, black and level eyes, cheekbones not prominent, long face, thick eyebrows, full black beard, retreating forehead, flattened occiput, brown but never yellow skin. Thus they are similar to the Turks of Chinese Turkestan.

2. Language and religion

[197] The most remarkable characteristic is their language which might be called a corrupt Turkish. In religion they are strict Hanafis and show great respect to their clergy. However, for the most part they are rather given to the drinking of spirits. Even the lowest classes sometimes are acquainted with the Arabic alphabet. They are said to have received their present form of religion from a reformer named Maming-hsin (Muhammad Amin) who taught about 1750.

3. Social organization

[193] The Salars are believed to have settled in their present habitat during the Yuan or Ming dynasty. They claim to have migrated from the Samarkand area. According to Schramm, who quotes [614] General Ma Fu-hsiang, the Salars are subdivided into the "inner five clans" and into the "outer eight clans" (Chinese: kung). The [197] latter lost their original Turkic language and now speak Tibetan.

The Salars are said to preserve clan traditions very well and [614] they do not marry anyone who does not belong to one of the Salar clans. They also have a reputation for being very fanatical Moslems, and have participated in all the Moslem uprisings of the [197] 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

G. The Sarigh Uighur (Chinese: Huang-fan)

[195] When Mannerheim visited the Sarigh-Uighur in 1907, there were only 100 families to be found. This small tribe lives in three vil- [361] lages on the northern slopes of the Nanshan Mountains, in the area of Tun-huang, Su-chou and Kan-chou. They have preserved their [198] tribal name and their Buddhist religion but they gave up their Uighur [212] script during the eighteenth century and adopted the Tibetan script.

1. Physical characteristics

[197] Mannerheim describes them as generally having excessively 563 prominent cheek bones. But he also saw several people with oval 142 shaped faces and not strikingly prominent cheekbones. However, in general the type of face is short and somewhat broad. Some of the women have thick noses. The mouth shows neither thin nor thick lips. The eyes are small and the distance between them is also normal. (Mannerheim obviously employs European standards when he talks about "normal" or "average.") The corners of the eyes were open and there was no inner epicanthic fold. Their hair

563 and their thin beards were black. They were of average height
[142] and no corpulent people were observed.

2. Economic activities

[233] The Sarigh-Uighurs are breeding horses, cows and sheep. Their
[556] economic position seems to be very poor. Even the richest man owns
[291] only a few horses and cows. They live in homesteads. Their clothing
[291] is Chinese in style.

H. The Tatars

1. Economic activities

Only a few thousand Tatars live in Sinkiang. They represent
a very distinctive Mongoloid type of Turk. Most of the Sinkiang
[167] Tatars had fled from the former Kazan Khanate in the Volga
region after the Communist Revolution. Some, however, have
lived in Sinkiang since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
[463] Despite their small numbers the Tatars have had remarkable in-
[441] fluence as merchants and traders due to their high education.
[871] For a long time they have been the middlemen between the Russian
merchants and the Turkic tribes.

2. Religion and literature

[771] The Tatars are either Moslems or Christians. Their litera-
[538] ture is very well-developed and illiteracy is practically unknown.
[212] In Sinkiang they still use the Arabic script.

III. The Mongols of the Northwest

A. The Mongols of Sinkiang

1. General characteristics

The Mongolian tribes of Sinkiang are all Oirats or Western
[167] Mongols. Only the Chahar Mongols, who were transferred from
Inner Mongolia by the Manchus, are Eastern Mongols. A small
group, the so-called Uriangkhai, are considered to be Mongols,
but in reality they are Turks who have adopted Mongolian as their
new language.

a. tribes

[619] The Western Mongols (Oirats or Ölöts) of Sinkiang consist of
[197] two tribes: the Koshuts and the Torguts. They all speak a West-
ern Mongolian dialect, very similar to Kalmuck, formerly spoken
in the Kalmuck Socialist Republic.

b. religion and economy

[771] All Western Mongols are faithful Buddhists. They are said to
[233] be very uniform in their customs and habits. They are all pastoral
[342] nomads and breed horses, camels, sheep and yaks. They still live
[614] in collapsible tents. The clan system is well preserved.

2. Physical characteristics

563 Employing Eickstedt's terminology, the Western Mongols repre-
141 sent the Mongoloid race, and are one of its purest examples: the
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*563 saw tremendous uprisings. But the Chinese shared in this violence.
795 When they defeated the Moslems, it was their custom to massacre
186 even women and children. (see section on Attitudes and Reactions)
b. Turks

The Chinese Moslems are on good terms with the Turks, and are reported to have feelings of kinship with them. Generally, this has been true even though the uprising of the 1930's ended in skirmishes between Chinese Moslems and the Turks.

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*563 B. History of Islam in Kansu
795 There are no exact data on the introduction of Islam into
174 Northwest China, but it is believed that the major conversion to
797 the religion of Islam took place during or after the YUAN dynasty
(1260-1306). It is unlikely that the first conversion appeared as early as the end of the Tang dynasty (618-906). Richard Wilhelm states, and it is true, that the first Moslem missionaries came to China at the end of the seventh century (Richard Wilhelm, Geschichte der chinesischen Kulture, München, 1928, 238 ff). Islam came to

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*563 China by two routes, through Turkestan and then from Canton.
795 The first Moslem revolt took place in Kansu as early as 1648.
*175 Two hundred years later Yaqub Beg (1865-1877) ruled the newly-established Islamic empire from Kashgar. Russia, England, and Turkey officially recognized him. Yaqub Beg had an army of 50,000 men.

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[648] The Moslems of Kansu tried to establish another Islamic empire (1861-1874). They conquered the western part of Mongolia, but the T'ung-chih emperor (1861-1875) defeated them completely.
Another uprising in 1895 was equally unsuccessful.

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* [668] When the Communists took over Northwest China in 1949-1950, they granted the Chinese Moslems the rights of religious freedom and autonomy. (see section on Constitutional System)

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*563 The communities of Chinese Moslems adopted the classical
795 Arabian educational system, i.e., each mosque has so-called
871 medresse (schools) connected with it, where boys are taught to
[212] read the Koran, etc. This is one reason why illiteracy is so seldom found among Chinese Moslems.

^S 563 VI. The Indo-Europeans of the Northwest

^S 563 A. The Tajiks or Iranians or Sarikolis 1. General characteristics

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[131] In the southwestern part of Sinkiang there lives a small Iranian tribe called Tajiks, Iranians or Sarikolis, who are farmers, [181] merchants and traders. They have a reputation for being very [190] intelligent. They speak an Iranian dialect which is very closely [197] related to Persian. The Tajiks very often speak Turkish as a second language, and the merchants even speak Chinese.

LANGUAGES

I. Turki

A. Dialects

197 The main language spoken in Sinkiang is Turkish. The Turks themselves, however, call their language Turki. Sometimes, when denoting their local dialect, they use terms such as Kashgarlik (i.e. "a man from Kashgar"), or Kashgar türkisi (i.e. the Turkish language of Kashgar"), or Turfanlik ("a man of Turfan"), or Turfan türkisi ("the Turkish language of Turfan"), etc. Among Western linguists, the term "Eastern Turkish" is widely in use, and we shall use this term only; since the Communist revolution of 1917, however, the term "New Uighur" also has been introduced. The Soviets apply this designation to the 100,000 Turks who inhabit the area of Jarkent and Alma-Ata in Kazakhstan at the headwaters of the Ili river, some parts of Kirghizistan, and the area of Andijan and Ferghana in Uzbekistan. They are of the same linguistic family as those who live in Sinkiang. Prior to the Soviet Russian revolution, the New Uighurs were called Taranchi, "inhabitants of the country."

East Turkish represents one of the dialects of the widely diffused Turkic language family. Closely related to Eastern Turkish are the Turkic languages spoken in Turkey, Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizistan, Uzbekistan, and the Soviet and Persian Azerbaijanian regions. The Turkish inhabitants of all these areas have no difficulty in communicating with each other.

1. Phonetic bases for subdivision of Turkic languages

194 The Turkic languages are subdivided according to certain characteristic phonetic features. For example, in the word dokuz~tokuz, "nine," the last sound is represented by -z in all Turkic languages except in Chuvash. There it is represented by -r, i.e. tükür, "nine" (this might also refer to the extinct languages of the Old Bolghar and Old Khazar). The Common Turkic intervocalic *-d- or *-ʒ- (a phoneme which resembles the English -th- in "that" or "those"), in the Common Turkic word aʒaq, "foot," becomes ataʒ in Yakut; adaq in Soyot (or Tuva, for which the name Uryankhai was also used) and Karagas; azaq in Sagai, Kacha, Koibal, Kizil, Kitaruk, Cholim, Beltir, Kamas, Sarigh-Uighur, and Shor; and ayaq or ayaʒ respectively in Turkey Turkish, Chagatai, Eastern Turkish and all the remaining Turkic dialects.

193 Another phonetic criterion, commonly used in subdividing
194 the ayaq group, is the suffix of the present participle -an or -ʒan (ʒ indicates the voiced counterpart of -ch in the German "ach"), e.g. qal-an or qal-ʒan, "remaining." In this respect

193 subgroup, again, is divided into the so-called taγ-liq and
194 tau-li, "inhabitant of a mountain range" sections. This refers to the transformations which take place as far as the noun-forming suffix -liq is concerned. It also refers to the changes of the final consonant -γ in the word taγ, "mountain" in the various dialects, i.e. daγ in Osmanli, taγ in Soyot and Karagas, tū in Oïrot, tō in Kirghiz, and taγ in Kazakh and Karakalpak. In this respect, Eastern Turkish belongs to the taγ-liq ("mountain inhabitant") section.

2. Position of Eastern Turkish

• 197 To summarize the facts concerning the classification of Eastern Turkish and its position within the family of the Turkic dialects, the following scheme should be applied: Eastern Turkish belongs to the dokuz languages, ayaq division, qal-γan sub-division, taγ-liq section.

3. Derivations

Without doubt, the Turkic languages are related to the Mongolian, Manju-, and Tungusic languages, and together with them form the so-called Altaic language family. The oldest substratum of Korean is undoubtedly of Altaic origin. Many linguists believe that the Altaic languages and Finno-Ugrian (Uralian) languages constitute one large linguistic family.

With the exception of the Chuvash, and to a lesser degree the Yakut languages, the Turkic dialects demonstrate a striking resemblance and uniformity. Even the oldest known Turkish dialect, the so-called Old Turkish, or Uighur, as represented by the inscriptions on stone slabs erected in honor of the Khans of the empire founded by the Northern Turks in 682, differs amazingly little from modern Eastern Turkish, its closest descendant.

B. General Characteristics of the Turkish Dialects.

1. Vocalic harmony

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194 Vocalic harmony is one of the most remarkable features of the Turkish dialects. This means that in one and the same word, including the suffixes, only front vowels (e, i, ö, ü) or back vowels (a, ı, o, u) are permitted to appear; e.g. front vocalic stems: köpek, "the dog"; yüzük, "the ring"; bilezik, "the bracelet"; back vocalic stems: topuk, "the ankle"; yatak, "the bed"; yastık, "the pillow". The rules of vocalic harmony must also be followed in adding suffixes to the stems: examples of back vocalic stems with back vocalic suffixes are: quduq, "the fountain"; quduqning, "of the fountain"; piçaq, "the knife"; piçaqçı, "the knifemaker"; bala, "the child"; balalar, "their children"; examples of front vocalic stems with front vocalic suffixes are: beş "five"; beşindgi, "the fifth"; inek, "the cow"; inekim, "my cow"; tüş "the dream", tüşüm "my dream";

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194 kǒz "the eye", kǒzǒm "my eye."

2. Consonantal harmony

Another phonetic feature of the Turkic dialects is a certain type of consonantal harmony. This means that certain consonants appear in connection with front vowels or back vowels only; e.g. there are two k-sounds in Turkic dialects, a front one (somewhat like the front k in "came") and one produced further back in the mouth (somewhat like the back k in the Germah "kan"). The symbol "q" is used to designate this second k-sound. The first k-sound appears with front vowels only, e.g. keldim "I came," the second one with back vowels only, e.g. qildim "I made."

3. Grammar

193 Since the Turkic dialects belong to the Altaic language family, grammar is a matter of suffixes. This means that declension, conjugation, and comparison, in the broadest sense of the word, are expressed by suffixes and not by prefixes, infixes or ablaut as in the Indoeuropean or Semitic languages. These suffixes are attached to invariable stems, e.g.:

qiz "the girl," qizlǎr "the girls"
ǒj "the house," ǒjdǎ "in the house"
qil "do, make," qila "doing, making," qilyaj "I shall do"
kašyar "Kashgar," kašyarlıq "inhabitant of Kashgar"
kel "come," keldim, kelding, "I came, you came"
beg "duke," begim "my duke"

4. Distinctions between Turkic and Indo-European

193 The following are the principal syntactic and grammatical
197 differences between the Turkic and Indo-European dialects.
The Turkic dialects:

- 1) have no grammatical gender
- 2) have no definite articles
- 3) have a special possessive declension, e.g. baγ "the garden," baγim "my garden," baγın "your garden," baγımız "our garden," baγınız "your garden (plural)"
- 4) have a large number of verbal derivations, e.g. qilmaq "to make," qildurmq "to cause to make," açmaq "to open," açılmaq "to become opened," bermek "to give," berişmek "to give to each other," berinmek "to give oneself"
- 5) have postpositions instead of prepositions, e.g. piçaq birle "with a knife," ǒj tǎn "for the house"
- 6) place the attributive modifier in a position preceding the noun, i.e. the modifying word precedes the modified, e.g. çoq ǒj "the big house" but ǒj çoq "the house is big"
- 7) do not use the plural forms of nouns if these are preceded by numerals, e.g. iki ǒj "two houses" and not iki ǒjlǎr
- 8) replace the verb "to have" by the verb "to be," e.g. gwl "the rose," gwlum "my rose," gwlum bar "I have a rose" (verbatim: my rose is existant)

- 193 9) express a negative verb by a special suffix, e.g. qilm^{ma}q
197 "to do, to make," qilm^{ma}q "not to do, not to make"
10) have a special interrogative suffix -mu^{and} and do not change
the position of the words within a sentence as Indo-European
languages do in interrogative sentences, e.g. ba^yqa yol bardur
"there is a road to the garden," but ba^yqa yol bar mudur?
"Is there a road to the garden?"
11) replace confusions by participial or gerundial construc-
tions, e.g. bol^{mo}q' "to be or to become," bol^{am} "if I were,"
the suffix -s^{am} could be defined as a conditional converb.

197 C. Eastern Turkish and its Subdialects

Although Eastern Turkish is a highly uniform dialect, from an accurate linguistic point of view, several subdialects can be distinguished.

1. The Southern subdialects

The Southern subdialects are spoken in the southern and southwestern part of Eastern Turkistan and in the cities and oases of Kashgar, Yarkand, Yengi Hissar and Khotan. On the basis of the small amount of material which we possess about them it can be shown that the subdialects spoken in the Kerya, Cherchen, Maralbashi, and Aqsu oases also belong to the Southern Sub-dialect group.

2. The Northeastern subdialects

The Northeastern subdialects, also called Kucha-Turfan-subdialects, are spoken in the cities and oases of Kucha, Qarash^{ar}, Turfan, and Qomul. The peculiarity of these sub-
(193) dialects is the existence of long vowels which do not appear in
(194) the other subdialects. Furthermore, among Northeastern sub-
dialects vocalic harmony is not as strictly observed as in the
other subdialects of Eastern Turkish. This is due to the influ-
ence of the surrounding Uzbek dialect which lost some of its
vocalic harmony as a result of contact with the Iranian languages.

3. Taranchi subdialect

(167) The so-called Taranchi subdialect is spoken in the Ili
valley and around the cities of Kulja and Jarkent (Dungan:
Samar) by Turks who migrated to this area in the nineteenth
century. They came from Kashgar, Yarkend, Khotan, Aqsu, and
Turfan. The peculiar phonetic feature of the Taranchi sub-
dialect is the absence of the most characteristic back Turkic
'i-sound.

However, these slight differences among the subdialects do not present the slightest obstacle to the possibility of communicating.

193 D. The Phonetic System of Eastern Turkish

194 Eastern Turkish has eight front vowels: i, u, ä, e, ü, ε,

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3) Predominance of nasalized vowels, -ã, and ẽ

4) A group of words like cha, ch'a, sha, etc. have ts-, tsh-, s-, respectively.

5) These dialects show a different treatment of words like chu, ch'u, shu, ju, etc. While in some dialects they have ts-, tsh-, s-, z-, (or rarely tɕ-, tɕh-, ɕ-, ʒ-) plus -y, in other dialects they have pf-, phf-, f-, v- respectively plus -u.

6) The following contrasts are observed only in some of these dialects:

a) Contrast between n- and l-

b) Contrast between v- and d u-

c) Contrast between s- and ɕ- before -i

d) Contrast between -ɕ and -ɕʰ

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Areas with Chinese minorities are found in Sinkiang and the U.S.S.R. The Mandarin-speaking officials, merchants, soldiers, and criminals who went to the larger cities of Sinkiang (i. e. Urunchi, etc.) in frequent waves of migration, resulted in the predominance of the Mandarin dialect in these cities. Descendants of the Chinese Moslems, under the name of Dungans, migrated from the provinces of Kansu and Shensi in the second half of the 19th century. They still preserve their native Chinese language with minor changes. The center of the Kansu dialect is the Alexandrowka settlement, in Kirghizstan, in the vicinity of Frunse (former Pischpek). The center of the Shensi dialect is Karakunuz, in Kazakhstan, which lies not far from the city of Tokmak.

The phonological structure of the ancient northwestern dialects of the 8th and 9th centuries is demonstrated in some Chinese texts which were discovered in Tibetan transcription at Tun-huang. These ancient dialects, presumable of Kansu, do not seem to be directly ancestral to the modern dialects described above. The striking features of the ancient dialect, as revealed by the Tibetan spellings in the thousand character classic are the different development in -i and -u; the distinction between m-: 'b-; n-: 'd-; (ʒ): 'g; and the partial loss of the final -ŋ.

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V. Concluding Remarks

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Most of the Western Mongols of the Northwest region speak Chinese as a second language. The percentage of those who are bilingual is rather high (about two thirds). The Monguors, however, rarely speak a second language. Very few individuals know Chinese or Tibetan. Among the Turks the percentage of New Uighurs who speak Chinese is very high, due to the fact that they live side by side with the Chinese. The same is true for the Tatars, Uzbeks and Tajiks, whose employment in trade forces them to learn the main language of the country. Those Turks who live in the moun-

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191 tains, like the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, are definitely not bi-
lingual. Among a few of them though, Russian is known.

A few of the sedentary Tibetans of the Chinghai area acquired Chinese as a second language. The Chinese Moslems learn Arabian to a very limited extent; otherwise they speak only Chinese. The official policy in regard to language education among the minorities makes the study of Chinese obligatory as a second language.

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197 Besides the approximately 3 million speakers of Eastern
162 Turkish, there are about 300,000 Kazakhs, about 70,000 Kirghiz
and about 5,000 - 7,000 Uzbeks who also speak Turkic dialects.
The population figures of the Salars and Sarigh-Uighur are
unknown but there are only a few thousand individuals.

Besides those people, we find about 60,000 Mongols who
live in Sinkiang and who speak a Western Mongolian language.
We refer to this language as Kalmuck.

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563 Many sources report that Manchus and Tungus live in
Sinkiang, but in reality they became extinct 30 years ago. When
the Altaist John Ramstedt visited them before the First World
War, only very few older individuals were still living. The
[191] younger generation already spoke Turkish.

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[177] Some 15,000 Tajiks living at the Sinkiang Russian border
[197] have become gradually Turkified. The Tajiks speak an Iranian
language closely related to Persian.

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[167] The approximate number of Chinese-speaking people is about
300,000. It is well known that thousands of Russians migrated
to Sinkiang since the revolution of 1917. Although it is impossible
to get the present Russian census figure, a total number of
25,000 cannot be regarded as too high.

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212 The Arabic script is used by the New Uighurs, Kazakhs,
Kirghiz, Uzbeks, Tatars, Salars, and Tajiks, while the Sarigh
Uighurs of Kansu use the Tibetan script, having abandoned their
old Uighur script during the XVIIIth century. According to the
newly printed political pamphlets in Kazakh and Uighur, some
modifications now occur in regard to diacritical marks; e.g.
Kazakh writes for the vowel "o" the Arabic و while Uighur writes
 ۇ the Arabic, or Kazakh uses for the vowel "a" the Arabic letter
 ا while Uighur writes it the following way ا

The Mongolian script is used by the Ölöts, Torguts, the Ala-
shan-Mongols, the Chahars and Uriangkhai.

The Chinese Moslems use both the Chinese and the Arabic
scripts, although the latter usage is more or less confined to
religious purposes.

/The Han Chinese/

000 with the fur side inside.

* 563 The Chinese home is still governed by the patriarchal tradi-
769 tion. The ancestral tablets stand in the place of honor. Ancestor
592 worship, which includes the belief that the spirits of those who
have gone before are always present, profoundly affects the de-
tails of family life and holds the members together, not so much
by affection as by obligation and a sense of mutual responsibility
within the clan.

* 563 At the New Year, in the shabby mud hut as well as in the
592 elaborate living room of a wealthy home, the family makes obei-
796 sance to the elders in exacting ritual. The essential relation-
184 ships which govern social intercourse are rigidly practiced. The
[593] individual maintains a close tie with his family, for he finds in
it the satisfaction of fulfilling the demands of tradition. A male
Chinese considers his home a place which Heaven has entrusted
to him, to hand down to posterity.

* 563 The annual festivals, such as the seasonal celebrations of the
796 New Year, the Dragon Festival, the Moon Festival, et cetera,
184 are celebrated in more or less the same manner as by the peo-
ple of other regions. Customs regarding birth, marriage, funer-
als and burial are also similar; in some places the ritual is
more rigid and conservative. The distinguishing factor here is
* 563 in the simple home life, as well as in social relations. The atti-
829 tude toward life is more practical because of poverty and neces-
[558] sary thrift. The preservation of "face" is not regarded as so
essential to prestige and social status. For example, Chinese
people in other parts of the country may have elaborate funerals
for their parents to maintain the prestige of the family, despite
resulting financial worries.

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N B. The Chinese Moslems (Dungans)

563 1. The People
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Actually the Moslems are predominantly Chinese. In Asia the
Chinese Moslems are referred to as Dungans, but in Kansu
Province they are called Hui-hui. Dungan is not a Chinese word,
but a term used by the Turks of Sinkiang in referring to the Chi-
nese Moslems.

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[161] These people settled thickly in Sinkiang Province, where they
[197] form the bulk of both the trading communities and the farmers.
In addition to Chinese they speak a Turkish dialect, and they
distinguish themselves from the Moslems of North China who,
except for their religion, have been almost totally assimilated
by the Chinese.

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N The Chinese Moslems are a much more courageous people
563 than the local Han Chinese. The Kansu men of this area are con-
181 sidered the most timid of the sturdy North China stock. It is
said that the Kansu men never have ambition, while the other
Northerners are never without it.

/Mongols of the Northwest/

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829 pastures, but not a country. Nationalistic movements of recent
*563 times hardly reached the Mongols of the Northwest (see Political
*668 Dynamics) and serious attempts to join a greater Mongolian unit
S (Outer Mongolia) have never been made by the Mongols of Sinkiang.
829 For most of the other Mongolian splinter groups of Chinghai,
563 Kansu and Shensi, such an ambition would have been still more
[668 unrealistic due to their geographical separation from Inner and
Outer Mongolia and due to their more progressed sinification,
which is especially true for the Chinghai and Shensi Mongols.
(Two heretofore isolated groups in Kansu, the Mongols of Alashan
and Edzingol have recently been incorporated into the Inner
Mongolian Autonomous Region.)

For the Mongols of the Northwest their country is China and
the supreme representative, the court of the government in
Peking. Their immediate superiors and chiefs were the banner
leaders who observed a rather strict loyalty to China's court or
government as they received a yearly apanage and, after having
performed special, mostly military, services for the court in
Peking, were promoted to higher ranks which in turn meant an
increase in their yearly presents received from Peking. This
fact did not encourage them to make any attempts toward independ-
ence, self-determination or autonomy. The Mongols of the North-
west thus did not think of their country but of their domain. An
important aspect of this view is also the cultural basis of the
Northwest Mongols, Lamaism, whose realm is everywhere where
Buddhists live and whose center is Lhasa (Tibetan: 'the city of
gods') rather than Peking. For the religious world is the real
and essential world to them, the Dalai Lama, the supreme spiri-
tual leader of all Lama Buddhists, became more real and essen-
tial to them than the supreme political leader in Peking.

C. Traditional Attitudes of the Northwest Mongols

No matter where Mongols live, some trends are common to
all of them: the pride of being a Mongol; the pride of speaking
Mongolian, which is considered by them as melodious, sonorous,
and full-toned in comparison with the 'chirping and cackling' of
Chinese; and finally, the pride of being a free nomad, herding
wherever he wants and riding wherever he wishes. Whenever
Mongols meet each other they can communicate with each other
as their dialects differ only slightly. They realize, too, that
they have even more in common than only external appearance
and language, something which is of utmost importance to all of
them - their Lamaistic religion. In these respects they certainly
feel that they constitute at least an ethnic unit, very different
from the Chinese for whom they do not want to be mistaken.

ASIAN TRIBES

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conditions of life in a new country, and though living in easy intercourse with the Turki people, which is a virile and stubborn race, yet retain their own customs and traditions with remarkable tenacity. 563

During our residence in Kansu we had become familiar with the Tungan—called by the Chinese 'Huei Huei'—and in Turkestan they abounded. Their origin is very debatable, and a stranger on first seeing a Tungan youth would probably say: 'What a handsome Arab boy.' Their hair is never really black, their features are aquiline, and the men generally wear a short, curly, brown beard. They are tenacious Moslems in the matter of neither eating pork nor drinking spirits, and they seldom touch opium. They were the leaders in the Moslem rebellion of 1862.¹ [142] [777]

The Turki—called by the Chinese 'Chantow'—is the agriculturalist of Central Asia. Whereas the Tungan speaks Chinese, the Turki has his own tongue—a language which has excited the interest of philologists by its regularity and intelligent structure. Professor Max Müller said: 'No society of learned men could have devised what the mind of man produced, left to itself in the steppes of Tartary, and guided only by its innate laws or by an instinctive power as wonderful as any within the realm of nature.' To quote an oriental saying: [241] 197.

'Arabic is science, Persian is sugar,
Hindi is salt, Turki is art.'

The Mongol is also a familiar figure on this northern road. His rough, good-natured, flat face and simple childish manner lend him the same attraction as that exercised by the Tibetan. He bears the stamp of the nomad and his means of livelihood are ranching and cattle-stealing. He always carries a knife at his belt, 563 [221]

¹ This insurrection covered the period from 1862-1877.